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#### The aff is complicit in the perpetuation of the myth of just governance – the settler state is structured by an ontological logic of elimination constantly manifest in the everyday reiteration of fluid ontology and settler moves to innocence that define white identity – decolonization of settler states is a prior question to any understanding of governance as just.

Rifkin 14 – Associate Professor of English & WGS @ UNC-Greensboro

(Mark, ‘Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance,’ pp. 7-10)

If nineteenth-century American literary studies tends to focus on the ways Indians enter the narrative frame and the kinds of meanings and associa- tions they bear, recent attempts to theorize settler colonialism have sought to **shift attention from its effects on Indigenous subjects** to its implications for **nonnative political attachments, forms of inhabitance, and modes of being**, illuminating and tracking the **pervasive operation of settlement as a system**. In Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology, Patrick Wolfe argues, “Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of native societies. The split tensing reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay—**invasion is a structure not an event**” (2).6 He suggests that a “logic of elimination” drives settler governance and sociality, describing “the settler-colonial will” as “a historical force that ultimately derives from the primal drive to expansion that is generally glossed as capitalism” (167), and in “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” he observes that “elimination is an **organizing principle of settler-colonial society** rather than a one-off (and superceded) occurrence” (388). Rather than being superseded after an initial moment/ period of conquest, colonization persists since “the logic of elimination marks a return whereby **the native repressed continues to structure settler- colonial society**” (390). In Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s work, whiteness func- tions as the central way of understanding the domination and displacement of Indigenous peoples by nonnatives.7 In “Writing Off Indigenous Sover- eignty,” she argues, “As a regime of power, patriarchal white sovereignty operates ideologically, materially and discursively to reproduce and main- tain its investment in the nation as a white possession” (88), and in “Writ- ing Off Treaties,” she suggests, “**At an ontological level the structure of subjective possession** occurs through the imposition of one’s will-to-be on the thing which is perceived to lack will, thus it is **open to being possessed**,” such that “possession . . . forms part of **the ontological structure of white subjectivity**” (83–84). For Jodi Byrd, the deployment of Indianness as a mobile figure works as the principal mode of U.S. settler colonialism. She observes that “colonization and racialization . . . have **often been conflated**,” in ways that “tend to be sited along the axis of inclusion/exclusion” and that “**misdirect and cloud attention from the underlying structures of settler colonialism**” (xxiii, xvii). She argues that settlement works through the translation of indigeneity as Indianness, casting place-based political collec- tivities as (racialized) populations subject to U.S. jurisdiction and manage- ment: “the Indian is left nowhere and everywhere within the ontological premises through which U.S. empire orients, imagines, and critiques itself ”; “ideas of Indians and Indianness have served as **the ontological ground through which U.S. settler colonialism enacts itself**” (xix).

#### Movements against neoliberalism and worker exploitation must first address the structural dispossession of indigenous people.

Baker 17 (W Oliver Baker, PhD candidate and Mellon Fellow American Literary Studies at the University of New Mexico, intersecting histories of settler colonialism, racial capitalism, white supremacy, and class in American literature and culture, “Democracy, Class, and White Settler Colonialism”, 2017, https://www.academia.edu/34506752/Democracy\_Class\_and\_White\_Settler\_Colonialism)//RC

In recent years. settler state policies have shifted away from a strategy Of direct violence and forced assimilation—mostly in response to the political threat posed by the anticolonial nation• alisms of the mid-twentieth century—and toward what Glen Coulthard describes as a politics of -colonial recognition.- in which settler societies promise greater accommodation and recognition of Indigenous groups but only to the extent that claims of sosvreignty or demands for decoloniza- tion go unheard and remain disavowed: A politics of colonial recognition also calls for reconciliation and healing between settlers and Indigenous peoples as a way to mend what is believed to be a racial or cultural conflict rather than a struggle over land and sovereignty. While settler societies might atnrtn the diversity Of Indigenous cultures or even lament past incidents Of colonial violence. Centuries-old structures and institutions of dispossession remain in place. These can be witnessed today in the underdevelopment of tribal economies that encourages the privati- zation of (or the attempt to dissolve) tribally-held land and resources; neoliberal policies that slash public services and deregulate predatory credit and loan industries. while funding entrepreneurial self-help initiatives in Indian Country; the use of state and police violence to brutalize. incarcerate. and murder unsheltered and working poor Indigenous peoples whose presence -off the reservation- in border towns is seen as a threat and danger to the property and flows of capital of settler society. extraction industries that destructivelv seek to unearth and/or transport fossil fuels on or through tribal lands: and the ongoing refusal of federal governments to honour the treaties, land claims. and rights to self.determination of the Indigenous nations of North America. A second key analytic of settler colonial studies and Indigenous critical theory is the concept of Indigeneity. Although defined in various ways, for this essay3 purposes Indigeneity can be described as the social category of persons whose ways of life. forms of knowing. and modes Of being depend upon originary relationships to land bases that Euro-American settlers have enclosed and continue to occupy. Because Indigenous peoples claim originary ties to these land bases. their presence or attempt to live on and through them challenges the legitimacy of settler society. As a social category constituted through elimination and genocide. Indigeneity should be understood as distinct from, for example. the category of the wage labourer that is structured by proletarianization and hegemony. If wage labourers. whether employed or unemployed. are struc- turally included in the marketplace where their labour power is exploited. the marketplace itself and the liberal state form that upholds it are nonetheless premised on the elimination of Indigenous peoples altogether. The ideological framework that mediates, legitimates. and reproduces Indigenous dispossession and its category of Indigeneity is the colonial and racial grammar of what Jodi Byrd calls "Indianness.¯• The Indian came to be a social ontology in which Indigenous peoples were under- stood as savage. ancient. living fossils of early humanity. stuck outside of time and space in a state of nature. The Indian was and continues to be both abjected and romanticized in settler culture as a person who exists in a state of natural warfare. instability. and conflict. while also appearing liberated from the constraints and alienation of modern life. In this state of nature, the Indian is understood to lack the capacity to labour productivity. possess property. or enter into social con • tracts. Through such meanings. the Indian emerges as the outside or Other to Euro-American forms of liberal democracy. selfhood. and civil society.• As Byrd emphasizes. - European moder- nity hinges upon Indians as the necessary antinomy through which the New World—along with civilization. freedom. sovereignty. and humanity—comes to have meaning. structure. and pres- ence.-•• The Indian. in short, became the figure of the un-sovereign through which it was understood that the Indian might occupy but could never possess the ability or right to own lands or possess selfhood.' i The dispossession of Indigenous lands. resources. and bodies thus came to be seen less as a form of theft than the natural transition from -savage- communalism to civilized market society. Today. Indianness continues. as Byrd puts it. to "transit U.S. empire,- or put into motion, facil. itate, and cohere the United States' settler imperial project that reaches around the world." It is through Indianness that settlers come to view the lands. resources. and bodies of the earth as spaces and objects of a barren wilderness (terra nullius) freely available for expropriation. The current and future populations living in spaces of the lands and controlling the resources that US settler imperialism attempts to seize or control are, as Byrd explains. made "Indian- or abjected as mindless terrorist-savages whose confrontation with the agents of enclosure is under- stood not as an attempt to resist and survive colonization. occupation. and genocide. but an irrational attack against society. civilization. humanity. and the forces of modern progress. In short. Indianness is what legitimates the process of primitive accumulation or what David Harvey calls -accumulation by dispossession.- which is central to the formation. expansion. and domi- nance of global finance capitalism. What an understanding. then. of settler colonialism. Indigeneity. and Indianness demon• strates concerning the question of alliance-building among oppressed groups today is that political organizing through the spaces of the democratic commons or the identity of the settler wage labourer supports rather than disrupts the colonization of Indigenous peoples of North America In the case of the democratic commons. calls for preserving and expanding the public institutions and spaces of liberal democracy in order to cultivate more radical and progressive forms of democracy is a demand not to undo or transform but to uphold the settler colonial state As Byrd argues. "one reason why a racial' and just democratic society is a lost cause in the United States is that it is always already conceived through the prior disavowed and misremembered colonization of Indigenous lands that cannot be ended by further inclusion or more participation."" Coulthard echoes this point. showing that "in liberal settler states...the •com. not only belong to somebody.. .they also deeply inform and sustain Indigenous modes of thought and behavior"" While it should be acknowledged that the democratic Commons histori- eally has served an important role in cultivating and producing emancipatory modes Of analysis and forms Of social belonging. such gains have nonetheless always depended upon the tion of Indigenous peoples. Any defence. then, of the democratic commons today must at the same time defend Indigenous sovereignty. This means rethinking how groups relate in the spaces Of the commons in Ways that do not perpetuate liberal democracy's colonial project Oi building public institutions and democratic spaces through the seizure, theft, and colonization of Indigenous lands. bodies. and resources. Class .first models of a renewed workers' movement also risk reproducing colonial disposses. Sion When they fail to recognize that the Indian and the settler Wage labourer are structurally distinct categories Of oppression. former is constituted by dispossession through elimination. while the latter is structured by exploitation through hegemony. Even though exploited. settler wage labourers nonetheless come to experience their status in settler colonialism as a place Of refuge and protection tiom dispossession and abjection. The role of the settler state is to ensure and safeguard the settler wage labourers right not only to possess but not to be dispossessed of property, even if the only property the wage labourer possesses is labour power. In fact. possessing labour power as a commodity to sell on the market indexes the settler wage laboureös right and ability to enter the social Contract and find security from the forms structural exclusion natu• ralized in the position of the Indian. Such a status explains why. when neoliberal forms of precarious labour and exclusions from waged life increasingly target settler wage labourers, they are felt and represented as abnormal. undeserving, and. more importantly. grievable occurrences. The dispossession Of settlers challenges the symbolic and material consisten€y Of settler societies that are premised on dispossessing colonial peoples in order to reward and advantage settlers Of all classes. Settler society retains and reproduces its coherence as the promised site of settler sov. ereignty, possession. and rights by figuring the neoliberal dispossession of settlers as the exception to be if only because Indigenous dispossession remains the norm to be reproduced and repeated. grievability of neoliberal dispossession. heard today in the refrain that globalization has -abandoned the white working class.- depends upon the ungrievability and normalization of Indigenous dispossession that. in the narratives not only Of manifest destiny but also the demo- cratic commons and normative socialist futures. is depicted and accepted as a natural. inevitable. and necessary process. One of the limits. then. of calling for solidarity through the political identity of the wage labourer is that. in settler colonialism. what organized settler wage labourers demand is not necessarily an end to exploitation but the freedom. protection, and refuge from structural dispossession and exclusion that are normalized and naturalized in the social and racial ontologies of the Indian. Movements on behalf of settler labourers risk ending in reform rather than revolution precisely because they do not so much seek to confront capital as they seek refuge and protection within and through it.

#### The inevitable presentation of a right to strike as a form of benevolent governance bestowed by the state on Indigenous communities problematizes Indigenous nonconformity as the cause of labor exploitation and shifts the analytical frame of criticism away from the settler state.

Strakosch 17 Elizabeth Strakosch, 10-21-17, Neoliberal Indigenous Policy: Settler Colonialism and the "Post-Welfare" State, <https://books.google.com/books/bout/Neoliberal_Indigenous_Policy.html?id=TPFbrgEACAAJ> mvp

The RPA gives both government and Indigenous parties space to outline their priorities (the Ngaanyatjarra Council in FaCSIA 2005: 1.6, and governments in 1.7). Indigenous priorities include cultural survival, connection to land, securing infrastructure funding and maintaining control over their own affairs. Government objectives reflect the COAG National Framework Principles for Service Delivery to Indigenous Australians (including sharing responsibility, harnessing the mainstream, efficiency and accountability) (Council of Australian Governments 2002), and also indicate specific priority areas. These areas for change in Indigenous lives include early education, substance misuse, family functionality and economic participation (1.7.6). Therefore, the RPA does give Indigenous parties space to articulate their values to governments, and these values do not align with the governments’ own neoliberal principles. However, the following section outlines the common agreement objectives, and these overall objectives are all directed at meeting government goals: In making this Agreement the Ngaanyatjarra Council and the Governments have agreed to work together ... [for the] provision of better coordinated and resourced programs and services to achieve improvements in the priority areas listed in Section 1.7.6. (2.1–2.1.1.1) But as noted above, section 1.7 outlines government priorities, rather than goals agreed upon by both parties. Government priorities have become common priorities, and the key objectives of the partnership. Therefore, while the agreement seeks to harmonise Indigenous and government interests, it requires reform within the Indigenous rather than government parties. The most important priority becomes the commitment by the Indigenous party to share government responsibility and goals. As with all mutual obligation-type compacts, this involves a complex temporal manoeuvre in which the obligations of government become reconfigured as gifts of government, and hence become legitimate consideration in a contractual exchange. In return for this gift, the state makes its own demands for change in its subjects. In the legal and political imaginary of the liberal contract, ‘consideration’ is an objective benefit of legal value which is exchanged by parties to a formal contract (Paterson et al. 2009: 74). It is the ‘price of the promise’: ‘[i]f we need to know whether A’s promise to B can be enforced by B, we must ask whether B ... has given consideration for that promise’ (Paterson et al. 2009: 73, 74). Superficially, the consideration exchanged in an SRA contract seems obvious: Indigenous peoples give the settler state a promise to share responsibility for their own government, and in return, the state offers resources to assist in this government. This is represented in Figure 7.1. However, more careful examination shows that the existence of government consideration relies on a complex temporal movement. Neoliberal Indigenous policy works on the assumption that the proper liberal government of Indigenous lives is the responsibility of Indigenous peoples themselves, but that they need to consciously recognise and accept this responsibility. Thus, while Indigenous governmental responsibility might exist at a theoretical level, there is an important sense in which it does not already exist as an actual fact. This lack is what makes the Indigenous undertaking to share responsibility a benefit to government (as discussed above, the wicked problem of Indigenous disadvantage is a government problem, and the mobilisation of subject responsibility is a government initiative to resolve that problem. This is not to say that this deprivation does cause suffering, or that Indigenous communities do not wish to address it; rather, I suggest that the specific kind of liberal self-government sought by the settler state is not automatically a goal and moral imperative for Indigenous peoples). Until the moment of exchange, in fact, both the responsibility for the full liberal government of Indigenous subjects, and the concrete resources for this government, belong to the government party (see Figure 7.2). The Ngaanyatjarra RPA agreements state that a key purpose of the contract, and therefore a shared interest of Indigenous and government parties, is to ‘share responsibility for achieving measurable and sustainable improvements for people living in the Ngaanyatjarra Lands’ (FaCSIA 2005: 2.1.1). However, ‘sharing responsibility’ is also listed as an objective of the governments, while it is not an interest listed by the Indigenous party (1.6–7). The RPA, therefore, turns an interest of the government party into a mutual interest. It enables government to divest some of the responsibility which would otherwise accrue entirely to it, and this divestment itself is the contractual benefit government seeks. So, in a sense, the major asset or power that Indigenous peoples bring to the contractual table is freedom from the burden of their own liberal/colonial rule, and the ability to take on some of the burden of their own government for the benefit of the state. However, until this responsibility is shared, the concrete resources that the state brings to Indigenous peoples are not recognisable as an item of value to the Indigenous party – they are simply the resources that the state must mobilise to meet its own responsibility to govern. To push this point further, we might even consider the governmental resources, such as unemployment support, community-building projects and adequate education, as rights possessed by Indigenous peoples by virtue of their status as citizens. Neoliberal rationality redefines the goods which the state owes its citizens as voluntary gifts which can legitimately be withheld (Ramia 2002). When governmental responsibility is shared and becomes a common interest with the governed, however, these goods are transformed into contributions to a common cause. They become contractual consideration, and their allocation is seen as an action that requires a reciprocal contribution from Indigenous peoples (Figure 7.3). SRA and RPA quasi-contracts, like the neoliberal SRA program logic which simultaneously recognises and seeks to create Indigenous governance capacity, have a peculiar suspended or circular temporality. Before the moment of contractual agreement, they make no sense. Only in the instant when Indigenous peoples take upon themselves the burden of their own adequate liberal government are government resources removed as a right and regifted as a contractual contribution to a common cause. This is the complex movement by which SRAs attempt to mobilise Indigenous subjects as resources in their own government, and as members of the sovereign community. Conclusion: government and sovereignty in Indigenous capacity building SRAs and RPAs aimed to enact Indigenous governmental consent to multiple, specific and concrete projects. However, this process also worked to generate sovereign consent to the settler state, and to erase Indigenous political difference. Capable Indigenous communities were seen as ‘willing to understand and work with governments’ in the project of addressing their own disadvantage (Morgan Disney 2006: 7). This meant demonstrating acceptance of the neoliberal problematisation of themselves as disadvantaged citizens, and the understanding of this disadvantage as a ‘wicked problem’ requiring Indigenous shared responsibility. In turn, they were asked to accept that their disadvantage was intimately connected to their own behaviour. Within the SRA framework, Indigenous communities could no longer locate the cause of their disadvantage in the action of settler authorities, or refuse to understand their lives as deficient in relation to the settler ‘norm’. Instead, the logic seeks to drive their consent to the settler state’s own framing of itself as the natural and legitimate partner in addressing Indigenous deficiencies. At a deeper level, the liberal settler state is seeking to bind itself to Indigenous communities by asking them to accept their own lives and behaviours as lacking, to request government assistance for change, and to help design the concrete governmental programs for this state intervention. Hindess suggests that liberalism must continually justify its project of rule, given its commitment to the abstract natural freedom of all individuals, and that its sovereign legitimacy therefore constitutes a ‘precarious practical accomplishment’ (Hindess 1997: 261; also Hindess 2005). A liberal polity must show that its (potential) subjects are failing in some way and that sovereign rule is necessary to help them attain their governmental goals. This means that its subjects must identify endless governmental goals, and always understand themselves as failing and in need of state assistance. SRAs aimed to build the capacity of Indigenous communities to identify their ‘needs and priorities’, articulate these to government and advise the government on appropriate interventions (Council of Australian Governments 2002: 1). These communities were being assisted to self-problematise and to provide the settler state with justifications for extending its authority into their lives. If liberal sovereign nation-states constitute a community of mutual governmental responsibility, then SRAs attempt to fully absorb Indigenous subjects into the sovereign state by absorbing them into this governmental community. Simultaneously, the SRA admission that Indigenous peoples were not yet part of such a community of mutual government exposed settler colonial sovereignty as an incomplete project.

#### The resolution’s call for a right to strike is a call to forcibly demand the latest iteration of neoliberal domination under the guise of recognition – labor reconciliation is parasitic on the revolutionary potential of decolonial anticapitalism.

White ’18 -- Professor of Law and Nicholas Rosenbaum Professor of Law Chair at the University of Colorado (Ahmed White, 2018, "Its Own Dubious Battle: The Impossible Defense of an Effective Right to Strike," Colorado Law Scholarly Commons, 2018 Wis. L. Rev. 1065, https://scholar.law.colorado.edu/articles/1261/, accessed 11-18-2021)//nikki

One of the outstanding ironies in a story rich with many is that the very things which made the prospect of an effective right to strike seem for a time so viable—the unlawful, illiberal, and altogether intolerable coerciveness of sit-down strike and mass picketing, especially—are also what made this concept impossible to ever realize. As we have seen, effective strikes could build the labor movement, validate the Wagner Act, secure the New Deal, and in many ways change America. But they could not make themselves legitimate. So it is that workers have found themselves with a right to strike that equals little more than a right to quit work—and maybe lose their jobs or their houses and savings in the balance. They have a right to strike, as Steinbeck’s character, Mac, complained, but they “can’t picket”—at least, not in a way that is really apt to change anything. And so they do not strike—in fact, under these circumstances they usually should not strike. The proof of this is readily evident, not only in the dramatic decrease in strikes since the 1970s, but in the sad regularity with which even the most vibrant strikes have ended in defeat for workers. Phelps Dodge (1983), Greyhound (1983 and 1990), Hormel (1985-1986), Caterpillar (1992, 1993, and 1994-1995), Detroit Daily News/Daily Free Press (1995-1997)—these are but the most notable of a litany of vibrant strikes since the 1970s that ended in failure.306 They are, in fact, the definitive labor struggles of this period, overshadowing a much smaller number of comparable disputes, like the strikes at United Parcel Service in 1997 and Verizon in 2016 that—often shaped by uniquely favorable labor dynamics—ended in something resembling victory for the union.307 Each of these big and unsuccessful strikes was motived by very modest, in fact anti-concessionary, goals and well-supported by workers and the larger public alike. And each featured mass picketing and other attempts at militancy. But these tactics were met with injunctions, civil suits, mass arrests, and criminal prosecutions, which ended the protests and left the employers free to exert their vast advantages in material wealth and political power, end the disputes on their terms, and leave thousands of strikers unemployed.308 It is true that the last year or so has witnessed what many people have declared to be a miniature strike wave, that has been widely celebrated by unionists and their allies as a welcome departure from past trends and portent, many hope, of a sustained resurgence of labor activism.309 Headlined by statewide teachers strikes in West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Arizona, all in the first part of 2018, the strikes commanded a great deal of media coverage, at least compared to what labor disputes usually receive nowadays.310 However, closer inspection suggests that this wave is mainly an artifact of wishful thinking exacerbated by the novelty for many people nowadays of seeing these strikes reported in the media. For in fact, the number of strikes over the last couple of years has remained close to the level that has prevailed for several decades now.311 Perhaps more significant in putting these strikes in proper context is a reflection on their character. None have been organizing strikes. All of these strikes have been over contracts and working conditions, with many driven by workers’ opposition to concessions and ended with less than spectacular gains by the strikers.312 Moreover, the strikes which comprise this supposed wave have been disproportionately mounted by government workers—teachers, mainly—who are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act. For this reason, several of the strikes have been unlawful, as state law typically denies such workers the right to strike anyway. But at the same time—and this may be the most crucial point—none of these strikes has unfolded in an especially militant way, at least by historical standards. There have been no big sit-down strikes, no threatening episodes of mass picketing, no routing of “scabs,” no destruction of property. Which is all to say that the kinds of strikes that built the labor movement eighty or more years ago remain thoroughly in check. There is little hope within the prevailing political and juridical order that things could ever be any different. Perhaps the right to strike could be made effective if it were fundamentally reconfigured in illiberal, corporatist terms. The right could conceivably be reconfigured such that the government might intervene more aggressively and make the workers protests effective—for example, stepping in to decide by adjudication, mediation, or arbitration which side should win a strike. Elements of this approach, which was vigorously opposed by IWW and AFL unionists alike in the early twentieth century, can be found internationally, in industry-specific statutes like the Railway Labor Act, and in labor statutes that apply to government workers, although most often when the law goes down this path it all but dispenses with the right to strike anyway, treating it as a redundancy, a tool without a purpose. As Senator Wagner himself perceived, alignment between the excessive reliance on the authority of the state to manage labor relations and the denigration of the right to strike was both dysfunctional and dangerous. As he put it back in the summer of 1937, defending the recently-passed statute that bore his name and the right that he placed at the center of it, [t]he outlawry of the right to strike is a natural concomitant of authoritarian governments. It occurs only when a government is willing to assume definitive responsibility for prescribing every element in the industrial relationship—the length of the day, the size of the wage, the terms and conditions of work.313 Clearly no such regime will be instituted in any event, not least because, as interest in such schemes in the twentieth century makes clear, support for this kind of corporatist intervention in labor disputes has itself been an elite reaction against strike militancy that currently does not exist. Where does this leave workers and unions, possessed of a right they cannot afford to surrender but cannot rely on as a means of advancing their interests and standing in society? Are they bound like Steinbeck’s strikers to meet defeat, albeit in a more peaceful way? Maybe. In one of his many commentaries on the sit-down strikes as they raged across the country in the spring of 1937, Walter Lippmann took time to analyze one of the speeches in which James Landis had argued that the tactic might well become a new right, in the same way that the right to strike in general had been created through its persistent assertion in the face of opposition and incredulity. No revolutionary, Lippmann nonetheless understood what Landis apparently did not: that the right Landis spoke of was revolutionary in its conception, and therefore not just an impracticality but a contradiction. “Never in the history of the law has rebellion been made lawful. Only the rights demanded by the rebels have been legalized,” said Lippman.314 As the labor scholars who call for the restoration of an effective right to strike have all understood, the tactics that made such strikes possible were tolerated only so long as there was not a functional system of labor rights in place, one that could stand alone in courts and hearing rooms. Once this was the case—once the rebel unionists’ aims, or at least those imputed to them, were realized—the sit-down strikes were predictably banned, and then so were mass picketing, secondary boycotts, and so forth. Thus it is that in cases like Fansteel and the debates on Taft-Hartley, sit-down strikers, mass picketers, and the like were presented as enemies of the labor law. Even more recent attacks on the right to strike, such as complaints in the 1980s about union violence going uncensored and the modest moves by the NLRB to rein in this, too, have been inevitably justified not in terms of overthrowing the system of labor rights but managing it, reconciling its virtues with the normative and juridical mandates of liberal society. And so it is that the right to strike—the right to an effective strike—has been sacrificed not in the name of capitalist hegemony but on liberalism’s altar of labor peace. Unfortunately, so far as the interests of workers go, these are the same thing.

#### A democratic model encourages neoliberal multiculturism which focuses on collective identity which would keep people hoping to qualify for state rights rather than vying for a more just government—turns the case as their democracy is absent of value

Shannon Speed, citizen of the Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma, Director of American Indian Studies and Associate Professor of Gender Studies and Anthropology at UCLA, 2016,” States of Violence: Indigenous women migrants in the ra of neoliberal multiculturism,” University of Texas at Austin, https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/indigenous/files/critique\_of\_anthropology-shannon.pdf

The 1990s were a time of hope, at least in some regards, for indigenous people in Latin America. ‘‘Globalization’’ and the so-called ‘‘end of history’’ seemed to mandate a wave of democratization and expansion of rights, in tandem with the spread of neoliberal economics. As states undertook an often massive reorientation of their economies (Mexico is particularly notable), ending land reform, eliminating state subsidies for farming and industry, privatizing capital and natural resources, limiting tariffs on foreign goods, and slashing government social welfare programs, they also moved toward popularly elected governments and expanded notions of human rights and the rule of law. A number of states, including Mexico and Guatemala, reformed their constitutions to recognize indigenous peoples and extend to them some level of collective indigenous rights. Often posited as the inevitable spread of neoliberal democracy on a US model (at times with an evolutionist flavor of development toward the highest state of being, naturally epitomized by the United States), these processes seemed to promise at least a minimal increase in political stability, rights, and accountability. Debates about the benefits and limitations for indigenous peoples of the new recognition and rights regimes were the subject of considerable theorizing regarding the period of ‘‘democratic opening’’ in Latin America. While some theorists hailed the recognition of indigenous peoples rights as a significant victory ‘‘shaping the quality of democracy in Latin America’’ and signifying ‘‘a major power shift’’ and ‘‘a more generalized opening of the political system to excluded and vulnerable sectors of society’’ (Van Cott, 2007: 127, see also Van Cott, 2000), others signaled a need to ‘‘qualify somewhat premature and narrow discussion of democratic consolidation’’ (Yasher, 1999). Analysts also sounded alarm bells about the ways in which multicultural rights regimes might work against indigenous peoples, by reinforcing state power and creating structures that, by focusing on collective identity rather than collective well-being, obscured the economic inequalities that were certain only to grow under neoliberalism. Charles Hale questioned the multiculturalism that underpinned the politics of recognition and analytically tied it to neoliberalism, coining the term ‘‘neoliberal multiculturalism’’ as he warned of the dangers of an overinvestment in limited cultural rights at the expense of an analysis of socio-economic inequality and state subject making (Hale, 2005; 2006). Hale (2002) also suggested that the limited rights afforded by neoliberal multiculturalism served to keep people focused on the possibility of qualifying for state-sponsored rights, rather than engaging in struggles for potentially more just systems of governance. Other theorists focused on the dangers for indigenous people of relying on the legal regimes of the state for their liberation and highlighted to multiple forms of state subject-making at work in these arenas (Garcı´a, 2005; Hernandez et al., 2004; Park and Richards, 2007; Postero, 2006; Sieder, 2002; Speed, 2005; Speed and Sierra, 2005).

#### International order is a dogwhistle for a global governance paradigm of assimilation into Western values that over-represent themselves as progress, “the world”, and history itself imposed through the civilizing mission of war, intervention, and imperialism abroad.

Turner and Nymalm, 19

[Dr. Oliver, IR @ UEdinburgh, UK; and Nicola, Research Fellow @ Swedish Institute for Int’l Affairs and Assistant Prof. of War Studies @ Swedish Defence University: “Morality and progress: IR narratives on international revisionism and the status quo,” Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 32:4 (2019), 407-428, DOI: 10.1080/09557571.2019.1623173]//AD

The concept of an international order, or ‘status quo’, as it commonly appears throughout the two historic waves of (Western-dominated) IR literature outlined above, is not imagined to be a static or unmoving condition. Instead, it has always been used within scholarly or conceptual narratives as code for advancement and progress. Robert Gilpin (1987, 72) insists that ‘the international economic order … could not flourish and reach its full development’ without a liberal hegemonic power such as the US or UK. Potential hegemons such as the Soviet Union, he explains, would undo such progress through ‘the imposition of political and economic restrictions’. EH Carr’s criticisms of Western claims to international order intersected with assertions of how it advanced, rather than merely sustained, the global condition. Aside from ‘equal security to all’, he noted, British ascendancy gave rise to a universal currency, acceptance of free trade and a common language. The fate of each of these developments, and by extension the cultivation of ‘a world society’, he argued, was threatened by new challengers (Carr 1939, 213). Progress has been most commonly understood in the West as a product of Enlightenment thought, manifest in material advances in science and technology as a ‘standard of civilization’. 3 This enabled a division of the world into a ‘civilized’ West and ‘barbarian and savage’ non-West (Buzan and Lawson 2015, 22–98). As progress became an explanation of how history itself unfolds, a storyline emerged describing a linear trajectory from ancient Greece to modern Europe in which progress was understood as self-generating through characteristics internal to the West (Buzan and Lawson 2015, 36–98), including those of liberal capitalism. The West was seen as ‘a distinctive political order— a “civic union”’ and as having ‘a distinctive political logic’ (Deudney and Ikenberry 1993, 18), in line with portraying the ‘democratic world [as] America’s greatest accomplishment’ (Deudney and Ikenberry 2012, 1). Though not necessarily directly visible, the underlying ‘wisdom’ or logical dimension of this narrative persists today through notions of ‘modernization’ and ‘development’ (Buzan and Lawson 2015, 123). More explicitly, when referring to post-1945 history, the growth of US global influence is depicted as having ‘helped usher in a new period of modernization and progress for many parts of the world’ (Deudney and Ikenberry 2012, 4). While comparisons between ‘civilized’ and ‘uncivilized’ are less acceptable in modern parlance, the ‘status quo’ is still narrated as a route towards progress and development. The goal of wealth creation in particular is set within a framework of global governance defined by Western conceptions of democracy, human rights and capitalist reforms. ‘As in the past’, observe Bowden and Seabrooke (2006, 3f), ‘the workings of markets continue to be thought of as having a “civilising” effect on society; both internally amongst its members and in external relations with other societies’. In this ‘socialization-to-liberalorder-view’ (Bukovansky 2016, 96), emerging markets are paternalistically depicted as moving towards a brighter future, via the ideal of economic convergence with the more developed West. For example, Mandelbaum (1997) suggests that a ‘useful way to think of Russia and China is as analogous to unruly adolescents’ in the context of their post-Cold-War development. This is coupled with expectations of political convergence and thinking in terms of the ‘liberal theory of history’ (Nymalm 2013) and understandings of the relationship between capitalism and modernity which have arguably become a Western-centric hegemonic view. Argues Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2008, 1), ‘ideas of convergence upon the model of Anglo-American capitalism and liberal democracy are continuously rehearsed in mainstream media, as if the “rise of the rest” is supposed to follow in the footsteps of the rise of the West’. Failed expectations on convergence may in turn intensify a threat discourse of the ‘rising other’ (Nymalm 2017) and ‘revisionism’ they bring.4 For instance, Jaschob et al. (2017) deny any normative connotation in their conceptualization of revisionism, as ‘not all rules and norms are just, and not all existing international orders are better than potential alternatives’. Yet, they motivate their studies with ‘the problem of dissatisfied great powers and the question of why rising powers should want to challenge an established international order that facilitated their extraordinary growth’ (Jaschob et al. 2017, 10). In other words, the order is ‘good’ because it enabled the rise of new powers. Historical IR debates over revisionist and status quo actors and behaviours have evolved over time, but within the controlled and restrictive parameters of conceptual IR narratives. As a result, the concepts themselves have operated not as neutral descriptors, but as powerful narratives of morality and progress with particular characters and plotlines. The effect has been to leave these scholarly concepts devoid of much analytical value, operating more as rhetorical tools to reinforce misleadingly binary conceptions of a Western Self versus a non-Western Other, within unduly selective and essentially predetermined stories of world order and the sources of its vulnerabilities. More than this, by endorsing divisions of a ‘civilized’ West and ‘barbarian’ rest, they have worked to promote suspicions and tensions in the international realm. As John Hobson (2012, 185–187) puts it, models like the HST ‘explicitly justif[y] Western imperialism in the past, as well as in effect advocating a neocivilizing mission in the present’.

#### Their fantasies of extinction scenarios infinitely defer a meaningful reckoning with settler colonialism

Dalley, 18—Assistant Professor of English at Daemen College (Hamish, “The deaths of settler colonialism: extinction as a metaphor of decolonization in contemporary settler literature,” Settler Colonial Studies, 8:1, 30-46, dml)

In this way, these settler-colonial narratives of extinction begin as a contemplation of endings and end as a way for settlers to persist. As in the classical solution to the settler-colonial paradox of origins, the native must be invoked and disavowed, and ultimately absorbed into the settler-colonial body as a means of accessing true belonging and the possibility of an authentic future in place. Veracini’s description of the settler-colonial historical imagination thus applies, in modified but no less appropriate form, to visions of futurity haunted by the possibility of death: Settler colonial themes include the perception of an impending catastrophe that prompts permanent displacement, the tension between tradition and adaptation and between sedentarism and nomadism, the transformative permanent shift to a new locale, the prospect of a safe ‘new land’, and the familial reproductive unit that moves as one and finally settles an arcadia that is conveniently empty.67 And yet that parallel means that it is not entirely true to say that settlers cannot contemplate a future without themselves, or that they lack the metaphorical resources to imagine their own demise. It is in fact characteristic of settler consciousness to continually imagine the end. But it does so through a paradox that echoes the ambivalence of Freud’s death drive: it is a fantasy of extinction that tips over into its opposite and becomes a method of symbolic preservation, a technique for delaying the end, for living on in the contemplation of death.68 The settler desire for death conceals that wish – the hope that, between the thought of the end and the act, someone will intervene, something will happen to show that it is not really necessary, that the settlers can stay, that they have value and can go on living. In this way, they make their own redemption, an extinction that is an act of self-preservation, deferring the hard reckoning we know we lack the courage to face, and avoid making the real changes – material, political, constitutional, practical – that might alter our condition of being and set us on the path to a real home in the world. We dream instead of ends, imagining worlds without us, thinking of what it would be like not to be. But at every moment we know that that the dream is nothing but a dream; we know we will awake and still be here, unchanged, unchanging, living on, forever. Thus settlers persist even beyond the moment of extinction they thought they wanted to arrive.

#### The alternative is an incommensurable project of decolonization that necessitates the repatriation of indigenous lands, the abolition of slavery and property, and the dismantling of the global imperial metropole – this is a complete disavowal of settler futurity that refuses to be punctuated by narratives of reconciliation.

Tuck & Yang 12 [Eve Tuck is Associate Professor of Critical Race and Indigenous Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), University of Toronto. She is Canada Research Chair of Indigenous Methodologies with Youth and Communities. K. Wayne Yang writes about decolonization and everyday epic organizing, particularly from underneath ghetto colonialism, often with his frequent collaborator, Eve Tuck. Currently, they are convening The Land Relationships Super Collective, editing the book series, Indigenous and Decolonizing Studies in Education, and editing the journal, Critical Ethnic Studies. He is interested in the complex role of cities in global affairs: cities as sites of settler colonialism, as stages for empire, as places of resettlement and gentrification, and as always-already on Indigenous lands. \*Sometimes he writes as la paperson, an avatar that irregularly calls.“Decolonization is not a metaphor,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* Vol 1 No 1 (2012) //tjb]

**Having elaborated on settler moves to innocence, we give a synopsis of the imbrication of settler colonialism with transnationalist, abolitionist, and critical pedagogy movements - efforts that are often thought of as exempt from Indigenous decolonizing analyses - as a synthesis of how decolonization as material, not metaphor, unsettles the innocence of these movements.** **These are interruptions which destabilize, un-balance, and repatriate the very terms and assumptions of some of the most radical efforts to reimagine human power relations. We argue that the opportunities for solidarity lie in what is incommensurable rather than what is common across these efforts.** **We offer these perspectives on unsettling innocence because they are examples of what we might call an ethic of incommensurability, which recognizes what is distinct, what is sovereign for project(s) of decolonization in relation to human and civil rights based social justice projects.** There are portions of these projects that simply cannot speak to one another, cannot be aligned or allied. **We make these notations to highlight opportunities for what can only ever be strategic and contingent collaborations, and to indicate the reasons that lasting solidarities may be elusive, even undesirable.** Below we point to unsettling themes that challenge the coalescence of social justice endeavors broadly assembled into three areas: Transnational or Third World decolonizations, Abolition, and Critical Space-Place Pedagogies. For each of these areas, we offer entry points into the literature - beginning a sort of bibliography of incommensurability. Third world decolonizations **The anti-colonial turn towards the transnational can sometimes involve ignoring the settler colonial context where one resides and how that inhabitation is implicated in settler colonialism, in order to establish “global” solidarities that presumably suffer fewer complicities and complications.** This deliberate not-seeing is morally convenient but avoids an important feature of the aforementioned selective collapsibility of settler colonial-nations states. Expressions such as “the Global South within the Global North” and “the Third World in the First World” neglect the Four Directions via a Flat Earth perspective and ambiguate First Nations with Third World migrants. **For people writing on Third World decolonizations, but who do so upon Native land, we invite you to consider the permanent settler war as the theater for all imperial wars**: ● the Orientalism of Indigenous Americans (Berger, 2004; Marez, 2007) ● discovery, invasion, occupation, and Commons as the claims of settler sovereignty (Ford, 2010) ● heteropatriarchy as the imposition of settler sexuality (Morgensen, 2011) ● citizenship as coercive and forced assimilation into the white settler normative (Bruyneel, 2004; Somerville, 2010) ● religion as covenant for settler nation-state (A.J. Barker, 2009; Maldonado-Torres, 2008) ● the frontier as the first and always the site of invasion and war (Byrd, 2011), ● U.S. imperialism as the expansion of settler colonialism (ibid) ● Asian settler colonialism (Fujikane, 2012; Fujikane, & Okamura, 2008, Saranillio, 2010a, 2010b) ● the frontier as the language of ‘progress’ and discovery (Maldonado-Torres, 2008) ● rape as settler colonial structure (Deer, 2009; 2010) ● the discourse of terrorism as the terror of Native retribution (Tuck & Ree, forthcoming) ● Native Feminisms as incommensurable with other feminisms (Arvin, Tuck, Morrill, forthcoming; Goeman & Denetdale, 2009). Abolition **The abolition of slavery often presumes the expansion of settlers who own Native land and life via inclusion of emancipated slaves and prisoners into the settler nation-state.** As we have noted, it is no accident that the U.S. government promised 40 acres of Indian land as reparations for plantation slavery. Likewise, indentured European laborers were often awarded tracts of ‘unsettled’ Indigenous land as payment at the end of their service (McCoy, forthcoming). **Communal ownership of land has figured centrally in various movements for autonomous, self-determined communities. “The land belongs to those who work it,” disturbingly parrots Lockean justifications for seizing Native land as property, ‘earned’ through one’s labor in clearing and cultivating ‘virgin’ land.** For writers on the prison industrial complex, il/legality, and other forms of slavery, we urge you to consider how enslavement is a twofold procedure: removal from land and the creation of property (land and bodies). **Thus, abolition is likewise twofold, requiring the repatriation of land and the abolition of property (land and bodies).** Abolition means self-possession but not object-possession, repatriation but not reparation: ● “The animals of the world exist for their own reasons. They were not made for humans any more than black people were made for white, or women created for men” (Alice Walker, describing the work of Marjorie Spiegel, in the in the preface to Spigel’s 1988 book, The Dreaded Comparison). ● Enslavement/removal of Native Americans (Gallay, 2009) ● Slaves who become slave-owners, savagery as enslavability, chattel slavery as a sign of civilization (Gallay, 2009) ● Black fugitivity, undercommons, and radical dispossession (Moten, 2008; Moten & Harney, 2004; Moten & Harney, 2010) ● Incarceration as a settler colonialism strategy of land dispossession (Ross, 1998; Watson, 2007) ● Native land and Native people as co-constituitive (Meyer, 2008; Kawagley, 2010) Critical pedagogies The many critical pedagogies that engage emancipatory education, place based education, environmental education, critical multiculturalism, and urban education often position land as public Commons or seek commonalities between struggles. Although we believe that “we must be fluent” in each other’s stories and struggles (paraphrasing Alexander, 2002, p.91), we detect precisely this lack of fluency in land and Indigenous sovereignty. Yupiaq scholar, Oscar Kawagley’s assertion, “We know that Mother Nature has a culture, and it is a Native culture” (2010, p. xiii), directs us to think through land as “more than a site upon which humans make history or as a location that accumulates history” (Goeman, 2008, p.24). The forthcoming special issue in Environmental Education Research, “Land Education: Indigenous, postcolonial, and decolonizing perspectives on place and environmental education research” might be a good starting point to consider the incommensurability of place-based, environmentalist, urban pedagogies with land education. ● The urban as Indigenous (Bang, 2009; Belin, 1999; Friedel, 2011; Goeman, 2008; Intertribal Friendship House & Lobo, 2002) ● Indigenous storied land as disrupting settler maps (Goeman, 2008) ● Novels, poetry, and essays by Greg Sarris, Craig Womack, Joy Harjo, Gerald Vizenor ● To Remain an Indian (Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006) ● Shadow Curriculum (Richardson, 2011) ● Red Pedagogy (Grande, 2004) ● Land Education (McCoy, Tuck, McKenzie, forthcoming) More on incommensurability Incommensurability is an acknowledgement that decolonization will require a change in the order of the world (Fanon, 1963). This is not to say that Indigenous peoples or Black and brown peoples take positions of dominance over white settlers; the goal is not for everyone to merely swap spots on the settler-colonial triad, to take another turn on the merry-go-round. The goal is to break the relentless structuring of the triad - a break and not a compromise (Memmi, 1991). Breaking the settler colonial triad, in direct terms, means repatriating land to sovereign Native tribes and nations, abolition of slavery in its contemporary forms, and the dismantling of the imperial metropole. **Decolonization “here” is intimately connected to anti-imperialism elsewhere. However, decolonial struggles here/there are not parallel, not shared equally, nor do they bring neat closure to the concerns of all involved - particularly not for settlers.** Decolonization is not equivocal to other anti-colonial struggles. It is incommensurable. **There is so much that is incommensurable, so many overlaps that can’t be figured, that cannot be resolved.** **Settler colonialism fuels imperialism all around the globe.** Oil is the motor and motive for war and so was salt, so will be water. Settler sovereignty over these very pieces of earth, air, and water is what makes possible these imperialisms. The same yellow pollen in the water of the Laguna Pueblo reservation in New Mexico, Leslie Marmon Silko reminds us, is the same uranium that annihilated over 200,000 strangers in 2 flashes. The same yellow pollen that poisons the land from where it came. Used in the same war that took a generation of young Pueblo men. Through the voice of her character Betonie, Silko writes, “Thirty thousand years ago they were not strangers. You saw what the evil had done; you saw the witchery ranging as wide as the world" (Silko, 1982, p. 174). In Tucson, Arizona, where Silko lives, her books are now banned in schools. Only curricular materials affirming the settler innocence, ingenuity, and right to America may be taught. In “No”, her response to the 2003 United States invasion of Iraq, Mvskoke/Creek poet Joy Harjo (2004) writes, “Yes, that was me you saw shaking with bravery, with a government issued rifle on my back. I’m sorry I could not greet you, as you deserved, my relative.” Don’t Native Americans participate in greater rates in the military? asks the young-ish man from Viet Nam. **“Indian Country” was/is the term used in Viet Nam, Afghanistan, Iraq by the U.S. military for ‘enemy territory’.** The first Black American President said without blinking, “There was a point before folks had left, before we had gotten everybody back on the helicopter and were flying back to base, where they said Geronimo has been killed, and Geronimo was the code name for bin Laden.” Elmer Pratt, Black Panther leader, falsely imprisoned for 27 years, was a Vietnam Veteran, was nicknamed ‘Geronimo’. Geronimo is settler nickname for the Bedonkohe Apache warrior who fought Mexican and then U.S. expansion into Apache tribal lands. The Colt .45 was perfected to kill Indigenous people during the ‘liberation’ of what became the Philippines, but it was first invented for the ‘Indian Wars’ in North America alongside The Hotchkiss Canon- a gattling gun that shot canonballs. **The technologies of the permanent settler war are reserviced for foreign wars, including boarding schools, colonial schools, urban schools run by military personnel.** It is properly called Indian Country. Ideologies of US settler colonialism directly informed Australian settler colonialism. South African apartheid townships, the kill-zones in what became the Philippine colony, then nation-state, the checkerboarding of Palestinian land with checkpoints, were modeled after U.S. seizures of land and containments of Indian bodies to reservations. The racial science developed in the U.S. (a settler colonial racial science) informed Hitler’s designs on racial purity (“This book is my bible” he said of Madison Grant’s The Passing of the Great Race). The admiration is sometimes mutual, the doctors and administrators of forced sterilizations of black, Native, disabled, poor, and mostly female people - The Sterilization Act accompanied the Racial Integrity Act and the Pocohontas Exception - praised the Nazi eugenics program. Forced sterilizations became illegal in California in 1964.

## 1NC -- Case

### 1NC -- Solvency -- Political Strikes

#### There are limits to RTS – explicitly excludes the types of political strikes that solve their offense

Garcia, Jose. “THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT: RECOGNITION AND LIMITATIONS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.” Revista Chilena de Derecho. 2017. Web. October 13, 2021. <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/1770/177054481008.pdf>.

The ECSR has also set a limit on the motivations protected by article 6(4) of the European Social Charter. In a Statement of Interpretation published in the II Conclusions (1971), it noted that political strikes are not protected by the Social Charter. Article 6 of the Social Charter, the Committee argues, is designed to protect collective bargaining, and politically motivated strikes are therefore outside the scope of the protection provided. This position has been sustained throughout the years, and it was again expressed in the XIII-4 Conclusions: “Article 6 para. 4 could not be relied upon to justify strike action taken for political ends”46. The emphasis of the ECSR appears to be more restrictive than the ILO’s, since it encompasses not only the nature of the motivation (and applying a general criteria regarding all politically motivated strikes) but also an ambit where the right can be exercised (in the context of collective bargaining).

### 1NC -- Democracy Bad

#### Democracy peace is primarily a project of consolidating Western ontology and identity---makes war inevitable because it divides the world into Manichean us/them dichotomies

Grayson 3 – Kyle Grayson, Lecturer in International Politics in the School of Geography, Politics, and Sociology at Newcastle University UK, March, “Democratic Peace Theory as Practice: (Re)Reading the Significance of Liberal Representations of War and Peace,” YCISS Working Paper, Number 22, http://www.yorku.ca/yciss/publications/WP22-Grayson.pdf

As a result of this analysis, the answers to the questions of ‘for whom and for what purpose’ is democratic peace theory designed are now evident but not surprising. Democratic peace theory and its associated discourse is for the people of the US/West. Its purpose is to fix the American/Western national identity as civilized, peacefully inclined, and democratic with the non-West by definition being considered uncivilized, war-mongering, and authoritarian. Democratic peace theory also aids in the justification of the American/Western world-view which perceives both democracy and war in a particular fashion. In turn, these conceptions of democracy and war help to hide much of the sordid past and present of the international relations of western liberal democratic states. They help to justify the unjustifiable and to legitimate the illegitimate. Of utmost importance is the ontological basis of these international relations practices sanctioned by democratic peace theory and its associated discourse within the popular political realm. This is the focus of the following section which examines the existence of one of the empirical silences within democratic peace theory research and the consequences of ignoring these important events.

Democratic Peace Theory and the Ontology of War and Peace

In Violent Cartographies: Mapping Cultures of War, Michael Shapiro tries to examine “the ways that enmity-related global geographies and ethnoscapes emerge as collectivities, and how they try to achieve, stabilize, and reproduce their unity and coherence”. 4 3 Historically, the practice of war has emerged as one the most enduring methods to attempt to fix national identities and ontological foundations. Victory in war confirms all the positive subjective views of the ‘self’ while at the same time providing ‘proof’ of the subjectively perceived inferior nature of the ‘other’. Conversely, defeat not only leads to (geo)strategic losses, but also to a reappraisal of the national identity and deep questioning of the foundations that helped define national identity. The American defeat in the Vietnam War provides an excellent example of these identity/foundation casualties. Therefore, Shapiro argues that war is not just (geo)strategic, but is also about the confrontation between competing ontologies.

As mentioned earlier, democratic peace theory and its surrounding discourse views war as an activity waged by state actors in pursuit of (geo)strategic spoils (e.g., territory, resources, wealth), as well as an activity arising over disputes of ‘ownership’ of spoils and/or perceived violations of sovereignty. As John Vasquez has argued, “the situation that states in the modern global system are most likely to deal with by the use of force and violence is one in which their territory is threatened....territorial disputes provide the willingness to go to war”. 4 4 Democratic peace theorists believe that liberal democracies can peacefully manage these kinds of disputes amongst themselves; however, in circumstances of dispute between a liberal democracy and a non-liberal/democracy, war is seen as almost inevitable. Conventionally, this has been attributed to the inherently aggressive nature of the ‘authoritarian’ state, which prevents liberal democracies from trusting these states to adhere to peacefully negotiated settlements.

Yet, when democratic peace theory is viewed as a representational practice, war becomes inevitable between disputing liberal democratic states and non-liberal/democratic states not because of the aggressive nature of authoritarian regimes but because these situations are viewed as an opportunity for liberal democratic states to engage in a ‘civilizing’ mission and reaffirm their national identity and ontology by demonstrating their superiority in battle. This imperative becomes especially clear if we abandon the traditional view of war contained within democratic peace theory and look at democratic non-state/liberal democratic state disputes and the underlying ontological contestations that fuelled them. 4 5 Barkawi and Laffey have argued that currently “force is used in the service of defending and expanding economic and to a lesser extent political liberalism (in the guise of democracy) beyond the liberal capitalist core”. 4 6 From a historical perspective, the dispute between the Iroquois Six Nations and the Canadian government over the Grand River territory during the first decades of the twentieth century, provides an excellent example of the ontological impetus behind international relations practices and how warfare can also be directed towards the annihilation of culture.

#### Focus on democracy in order to create global peace paradoxically ensures total war that wipes out billions

**-** Burke ‘7(Anthony Burke, Senior Lecturer @ School of Politics & IR @ Univ. of New South Wales, ‘7 [Beyond Security, Ethics and Violence, p. 231-2]

Yet **the first act in America's 'forward strategy of freedom' was to invade and attempt to subjugate Iraq, suggesting that, if 'peace' is its object, its means is war**: **the engine of history is violence, on an enormous and tragic scale, and violence is ultimately its only meaning**. This we can glimpse in 'Toward a Pacific Union', a deeply disingenuous chapter of Fukuyama's The End of History and the Last Man. This text divides the earth between a 'post-historical' world of affluent developed democracies where 'the old rules of power-politics have decreasing relevance', and a world still 'stuck in history' and 'riven with a variety of religious, national and ideological conflicts'. The two worlds will maintain 'parallel but separate existences' and interact only along axes of threat, disturbance and crucial strategic interest: oil, immigration, terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Because 'the relationship between democracies and nondemocracies will still be characterised by mutual distrust and fear', writes Fukuyama, the 'post-historical half must still make use of realist methods when dealing with the part still in history ... force will still be the ultima ratio in their relations'. For all the book's Kantian pretensions, **Fukuyama naturalises war and coercion as the dominant mode of dealing with billions of people defined only through their lack of 'development' and 'freedom'**. Furthermore, in his advocacy of the 'traditional moralism of American foreign policy' and his dismissal of the United Nations in favour of a NATO-style 'league of truly free states ... capable of much more forceful action to protect its collective security against threats arising from the non-democratic part of the world' we can see an early premonition of the historicist unilateralism of the Bush administration. 72 **In this light, we can see the invasion of Iraq as continuing a long process of 'world-historical' violence that stretches back to Columbus' discovery of the Americas**, **and the subsequent politics of genocide, warfare and dispossession** through which the modem United States was created and then expanded - initially with the colonisation of the Philippines and coercive trade relationships with China and Japan, and eventually to the self-declared role Luce had argued so forcefully for: guarantor of global economic and strategic order after 1945. **This role involved the hideous destruction of Vietnam and Cambodia, 'interventions' in Chile, El Salvador, Panama, Nicaragua and Afghanistan (or an ever more destructive 'strategic' involvement in the Persian Gulf that saw the United States first building up Iraq as a formidable regional military power, and then punishing its people with a 14-year sanctions regime that caused the deaths of at least 200,000 people**), all of which we are meant to accept as proof of America's benign intentions, of America putting its 'power at the service of principle'. They are merely history working itself out, the 'design of nature' writing its bliss on the world.73 The bliss 'freedom' offers us, however, is the bliss of the graveyard, stretching endlessly into a world marked not by historical perfection or democratic peace, **but by the eternal recurrence of tragedy, as ends endlessly disappear in the means of permanent war and permanent terror**. This is how we must understand both the prolonged trauma visited on the people of Iraq since 1990, and the inflammatory impact the US invasion will have on the new phenomenon of global antiWestern terrorism. American exceptionalism has deluded US policymakers into believing that they are the only actors who write history, who know where it is heading, and how it will play out, and that in its service it is they (and no-one else) who assume an unlimited freedom to act. As a senior adviser to Bush told a journalist in 2002: 'We're an empire now, and when we act, we create our own reality . . We're history's actors."